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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 BELGRADE 4567

FOR UER/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: DETAILED ANALYSIS OF NEUTRAL
COMPREHENSIVE COMPROMISE PROPOSAL

SUMMARY: NEW "NON-PAPER" CIRCULATED INFORMALLY JULY 7, BY NINE MEMBERS OF NEUTRAL/NON-ALLIGNED (NNA) GROUPS IS COMPREHENSIVE EFFORT AT COMPROMISE ON AGENDA, ORGANIZATION AND DURATION OF MEETING ISSUES. IT BUILDS ON EARLIER NNA AGENDA PROPOSAL, SWISS NON-PAPER ON AGENDA, AND AUSTRIAN NON-PAPER ON ORGANIZATION. MOST OF ITS FORMULATIONS ARE SUBSTANTIVELY CLOSE TO THOSE EMPLOYED IN COMPREHENSIVE NATO DRAFT DECISION SHEET WHICH US-UK INTRODUCED AT OUTSET OF PREPARATORY MEETING. IT OFFERS SOVIETS SOME OPTICAL CONCESSIONS BUT, IN OUR VIEW, IS CONSISTENT WITH USDEL'S INSTRUCTIONS ON ALL MAIN POINTS. WE PROVIDE BELOW OUR DETAILED ANALYSIS. END SUMMARY.

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1. AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION -- NNA PAPER CONTAINS 8-ITEM AGENDA. FIRST ITEM -- FORMAL OPENING OF THE MEETING -- CONTAINS THREE SUBDIVISIONS: AN ADDRESS BY A YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVE AS HOST, FORMAL ADOPTION OF AGENDA "ESTABLISHED BY THE PREPARATORY MEETING," AND AN ADDRESS BY UN SYG OR HIS REPRESENTATIVE. US-UK PROPOSAL HAD FORESEEN EACH OF THESE ELEMENTS, BUT HAD CONSIGNED THEM TO ORGANIZATIONAL

ANNEX. IN EFFORT TO GET DRAFTING WORK GOING, SWISS NON-PAPER HAD PROPOSED MOVING THESE NON-CONTROVERSIAL POINTS INTO AGENDA AS SEPARATE ITEMS. SOVIETS WELCOMED THIS DEVELOPMENT BECAUSE IT OFFERED PROSPECT THAT KEY ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WOULD BE BURIED DEEP AT BOTTOM OF A LENGTHY AGENDA. US, SUPPORTED IN DRAFTING GROUP BY BROAD RANGE OF ALLIES AND NNA, SUGGESTED THAT THESE ELEMENTS, ALL OF WHICH WOULD OCCUR ON OPENING DAY OF MAIN MEETING AND WERE NOT INTEGRAL PART OF MAIN MEETING'S SUBSTANTIVE WORK AS ENVISAGED IN FINAL ACT, SHOULD BE GROUPED TOGETHER AS SINGLE ITEM. NNA PROPOSAL IS THUS A COMPROMISE WHICH ACCEPTS MAIN ELEMENTS OF US POSITION WHILE OFFERING SOVIETS OPTICAL CONCESSION THAT MORE LINES IN AGENDA THAN INITIALLY ENVISAGED PRECEDE ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

2. SECOND ITEM -- "OPENING STATEMENTS BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES" -- WAS ALSO FORESEEN IN ORGANIZATIONAL ANNEX OF US-UK PAPER. IT HAS FOUND ITS WAY INTO NNA DRAFT AGENDA BY SAME ROUTE AS FIRST ITEM. ORGANIZATIONAL PART OF NNA DRAFT ACCEPTS US-UK POSITION THAT THESE OPENING STATEMENTS SHOULD BE PUBLIC AND THAT EACH OPENING STATEMENT SHOULD NOT EXCEED 40 MINUTES IN LENGTH. APPROXIMATELY 24 HOURS OR FIVE WORKING DAYS WOULD BE REQUIRED TO COMPLETE FIRST TWO AGENDA ITEMS (AS WELL AS TWO ADDRESSES BY REPRESENTATIVES OF ECE AND UNESCO WHICH CONFIDENTIAL

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ARE ITEM 3(A) OF AGENDA). THIS IS CONSISTENT WITH US-UK ORGANIZATIONAL ANNEX WHICH ENVISAGED THAT FIRST WEEK OF MAIN MEETING WOULD BE TAKEN UP WITH PUBLIC OPENING CEREMONY AND SPEECHES. NNA DRAFT ALSO TRZCTS SUGGESTION MADE BY ALLIES IN DRAFTING GROUP THAT ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES STATE ORDER IN WHICH PARTICIPATING STATES WILL MAKE OPENING STATEMENTS. US-UK PROPOSAL HAD SAID ONLY THAT ORDER WOULD BE ESTABLISHED BY DRAWING OF LOTS. NNA ENVISAGE DRAWING OF LOTS AT PREPARATORY MEETING SO THAT EACH DEL WILL KNOW WELL IN ADVANCE WHEN IT WILL SPEAK DURING OPENING WEEK.

3. INCLUDING OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY ECE AND UNESCO REPS AS WELL AS BY NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES AS AGENDA ITEM THREE IS PRODUCT OF SAME EVOLUTION DESCRIBED ABOVE. ALL THREE CONTRIBUTIONS WERE INCLUDED UNDER ORGANIZATIONAL PORTIONS OF US-UK DRAFT. SUBDIVISION INTO (A) ECE AND UNESCO AND (B) NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES REFLECTS FACT THAT THESE CONTRIBUTIONS ARE OF DIFFERENT NATURE AS WELL AS INTEREST ON PART OF PARTICIPATING

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FROM USDEL CSCE

MEDITERRANEAN STATES TO GIVE EXTRA DIGNITY TO CONTRIBUTIONS
OF THEIR SOUTHERN NEIGHBORS. US-UK PROPOSAL HAD BEEN
EXPLICIT THAT ALL EIGHT NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN
STATES, INCLUDING LIBYA AND LEBANON, WOULD BE OFFERED
OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE CONTRIBUTION, NOT JUST THOSE SIX
(ALGERIA, EGYPT, ISRAEL, MOROCCO, SYRIA AND TUNISIA) WHICH
APPEARED AT GENEVA. NNA DRAFT IS LESS EXPLICIT, BUT THERE
IS GENERAL UNDERSTANDING THAT ALL NON-PARTICIPATING
MEDITERRANEAN STATES WILL BE ABLE TO SPEAK IF THEY SO
DESIRE.

4. NNA HAVE ACCEPTED US-UK PROPOSAL'S FORMULA THAT THESE
CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE MADE IN PLENARY. WHILE THIS IS A
CHANGE FROM GENEVA, WHERE THEY WERE MADE IN COMMITTEES
ONE AND TWO BUT NOT PLENARY (COORDINATING COMMITTEE). IT
IS LESS THAN DESIRED BY MALTA AND SEVERAL OTHERS WHO
URGED THAT CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD BE MADE NOT ONLY TO PLENARY
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BUT ALSO TO MEDITERRANEAN COMMITTEE AND PERHAPS OTHER
COMMITTEES AS WELL.

5. ALTHOUGH NNA PAPER SUGGESTS THAT SUB-ITEM ON MEDITERRANEAN CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD, AS SOVIETS DESIRE, APPEAR BEFORE ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION OF PAPER MAKES CLEAR THAT IN FACT CONTRIBUTIONS WILL COME AFTER THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HAS BEGUN ("AFTER THE GENERAL DEBATE MENTIONED UNDER 8 ABOVE"). NNA PAPER SIDESTEPS QUESTION OF EXACT TIMING OF THESE CONTRIBUTIONS, PROVIDING ONLY THAT THEY SHALL NOT COME BEFORE THIRD WEEK AND THAT DATE SHALL BE SET AFTER CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT AND NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES. THESE PROVISIONS WOULD MEAN THAT, IN EFFECT, MEDITERRANEAN CONTRIBUTIONS WOULD FORM ORGANIC PART OF THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ITEM, AS WEST DESIRES, RATHER THAN AMOUNT TO SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM THAT WOULD DELAY COMMENCEMENT OF CONSIDERATION OF IMPLEMENTATION.

6. NNA HAVE ACCEPTED SOVIET COMPROMISE OFFER ON FORMULATION OF KEY AGENDA ITEM 4 ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BY REPRODUCING EXACTLY FINAL ACT'S LANGUAGE LINKING IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS (PARAGRAPH 2(A) OF FOLLOW-UP SECTION OF FINAL ACT) WITHOUT TINJS, BUT WITH A LINE SKIPPED BETWEEN TWO HALVES TO INDICATE DEGREE OF SEPARATION. NNA HAVE, HOWEVER, REINFORCED THIS SEPARATION IN ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION BY STATING THAT DISCUSSION WILL TAKE PLACE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STRUCTURE AND SEQUENCE OF THE FINAL ACT." AS EXPLAINED IN DETAIL IN SEPTTEL, USDEL BELIEVES THIS FORMULA MEETS OUR REQUIREMENTS AS SET OUT IN OUR INSTRUCTIONS, BOTH BECAUSE IT PROVIDES OPTICAL SEPARATION AND BECAUSE OF PROVISIONS IN ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION OF NNA PAPER.

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7. WE CONSIDER THAT THESE MODALITIES WOULD PERMIT US TO MOVE SEQUENTIALLY THROUGH FINAL ACT, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE AND BASKET THREE, IN A THOROUGH MANNER WITH SUFFICIENT TIME BEING AVAILABLE TO DEAL WITH BOTH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS. NNA HAVE NOT ACCEPTED SOVIET ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL WHICH WOULD HAVE PROVIDED FOR AN ALL-POWERFUL PLENARY THAT WOULD HAVE OFFERED OPPORTUNITIES TO KEEP LEVEL OF DISCUSSION GENERAL BY REFUSING TO GRANT WORKING BODIES LATITUDE TO DO DETAILED WORK.

8. NNA HAVE SOUGHT TO MAKE WORKING MODALITIES MORE PALATABLE TO SOVIETS BY PROVIDING THEM SOME OPTICAL CONCESSIONS, I.E., CALLING SUB-BODIES THAT WOULD DO DETAILED WORK "WORKING GROUPS" RATHER THAN "COMMITTEES"; STATING THAT WORKING GROUPS "WILL BE GUIDED IN THEIR WORK BY THE PLENARY AND WILL REPORT TO THE LATTER," AND BY REFERRING TO "A

GENERAL DEBATE IN THE PLENARY FOR THE PURPOSE OF INITIATING THE WORK OF THE WORKING GROUPS." THIS GENERAL DEBATE, HOWEVER, WOULD CLEARLY BE PART OF ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, IN MANNER ENVISAGED BY US-UK PAPER'S CONCEPT OF INITIAL DISCUSSION IN CLOSED PLENARY BEFORE COMMENCEMENT OF COMMITTEES, RATHER THAN THE SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM ADVOCATED BY SOVIETS ON OVERALL EUROPEAN SITUATION TWO YEARS AFTER HELSINKI THAT WOULD PRECEDE CONSIDERATION OF IMPLEMENTATION OR NEW PROPOSALS. LIKEWISE, NNA LANGUAGE ON A GENERAL DEBATE THAT WOULD INITIATE WORK OF WORKING GROUPS AND PROVISIONS FOR PLENARY TO GUIDE WORKING GROUPS MAKE MORE CONCRETE SUGGESTION IN EARLIER AUSTRIAN ORGANIZATIONAL NON-PAPER THAT PLENARY WOULD "LAUNCH" WORKING GROUPS

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WHILE SEEMING TO AVOID DANGER THAT WORKING GROUPS COULD BE CRIPPLED BY FAILURE OF PLENARY TO AGREE ON THEIR MANDATES.

9. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT NNA DRAFT DEPARTS FROM US-UK PROPOSAL IN ENVISAGING THAT GENERAL DEBATE THAT WOULD PRECEDE INITIATION OF WORKING GROUPS WOULD COVER BOTH IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS. LEAVING ASIDE PROBABLE IMPOSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING CONSENSUS TO SEPARATE THESE

TWO ELEMENTS IN GENERAL DEBATE, NNA DRAFT PROVIDES EXPLICITLY THAT "THE WORKING GROUPS SHALL START THEIR WORK NOT LATER THAN TWO WEEKS AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE MEETING" (I.E. AFTER ONE WEEK OF OPEN PLENARY AND ONE WEEK OF CLOSED PLENARY). US-UK PROPOSAL HAD ENVISAGED POSSIBILITY THAT GENERAL DEBATE IN CLOSED PLENARY MIGHT LAST AS LONG AS THREE WEEKS AND THAT COMMITTEES, WHERE MORE DETAILED REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS WELL AS CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS

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WOULD OCCUR, MIGHT BE IN SESSION FOR ONLY FIVE WEEKS. UNDER NNA FORMULA, ON OTHER HAND, AT LEAST EIGHT WEEKS WOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR DETAILED COMMITTEE WORK, WHICH IS IN KEEPING WITH PREFERENCES WE EXPRESSED DURING NATO CONSULTATIONS.

10. LAST SENTENCE IN AGENDA ITEM 4 PROVIDES THAT THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WILL INCLUDE "EXAMINATION OF PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE ABOVE QUESTIONS". THIS IS ROMANIAN CONTRIBUTION WHICH HAS PREVIOUSLY BEEN ACCEPTED NOT ONLY BY NNA BUT BY POLES. WE SEE IT AS USEFULLY REINFORCING IDEA THAT THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SHOULD INCLUDE NOT MERELY A DEBATE BUT ALSO EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON CONCRETE NEW PROPOSALS TO IMPROVE IMPLEMENTATION.

11. AGENDA ITEM 5 IN NNA DRAFT REPRODUCES ROMANIAN LANGUAGE ON FOLLOW-UP. IT GOES BEYOND US-UK FORMULATION WHICH SPOKE ONLY OF DEFINITION OF MODALITIES FOR HOLDING "FURTHER MEETINGS", BY INDICATING THAT THIS INCLUDES MODALITIES FOR FURTHER BELGRADE-TYPE MEETINGS, MEETINGS OF EXPERTS, AND POSSIBILITY OF NEW FULL-SCALE CSCE CONFERENCE. WE SEE NO SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEM WITH THIS SPECIFICITY. SPARENESS OF ORIGINAL US-UK LANGUAGE WAS DUE TO DESIRE TO AVOID ENTERING PROBLEM AREA REPRESENTED BY FACT THAT FINAL ACT, WHILE CLEARLY ENVISAGING EXPERTS MEETINGS, DOES NOT REFER TO THEM IN PARAGRAPH 2(B) OF FOLLOW-UP SECTION. SOVIETS INITIALLY DELETED THIS ITEM ENTIRELY FROM THEIR DRAFT AGENDA

AND THEN ACCEPTED IT VIA POLISH AMENDMENT WHICH WAS TRUE TO LITERAL LANGUAGE OF FINAL ACT IN MENTIONING ONLY FURTHER BELGRADE-TYPE MEETINGS AND POSSIBILITY OF NEW CONFERENCE. THERE IS, HOWEVER, BROAD SENTIMENT AMONG DELS OTHER THAN MEMBERS OF WARSAW PACT TO INCLUDE REFERENCE

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TO EXPERTS MEETINGS.

12. SIXTH ITEM OF NNA AGENDA COVERS DRAFTING AND ADOPTION OF FINAL DOCUMENT, POINTS WHICH US-UK PROPOSAL COVERED UNDER ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS. SOVIET AGENDA PROPOSAL ESCHEWS ANY CHARACTERIZATION OF WHAT FINAL DOCUMENT MIGHT INCLUDE. NNA DRAFT PROVIDES THAT IT "WILL INCLUDE CONCLUSIONS AND DECISIONS RELATING TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ITEMS OF THE AGENDA, INCLUDING THE DATE AND PLACE OF THE NEXT MEETING SIMILAR TO THE PRESENT ONE". THIS LANGUAGE WOULD PUT TECHNICAL PREPARATORY MEETING ON RECORD AS HAVING, IN EFFECT, DECIDED A SUBSTANTIVE MATTER, NAMELY THAT THERE WILL BE ANOTHER BELGRADE-STYLE MEETING AND THAT, BY IMPLICATION THAT MEETING WILL HAVE TO OCCUR BEFORE A NEW CSCE CONFERENCE MIGHT BE CONSIDERED. WHILE THIS MATTER MIGHT MORE LOGICALLY BE LEFT TO MAIN MEETING TO DECIDE, NNA AND ROMANIANS FEEL STRONGLY THAT THERE IS COMMITMENT IN FINAL ACT TO HOLD ANOTHER BELGRADE (BELGRADE MEETING IS DESCRIBED AS "THE FIRST OF THE MEETINGS...") AND THAT THIS COMMITMENT SHOULD BE REFLECTED IN DECISION SHEET OF PREPARATORY MEETING. NNA HAVE ALSO CUT OUT ROMANIAN LANGUAGE THAT WOULD HAVE CALLED EXPLICITLY FOR DECISION ON DATE AND PLACE OF MEETINGS OF EXPERTS. THAT LANGUAGE WOULD HAVE CAUSED SOME DIFFICULTY BECAUSE IT COULD HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED EITHER TO IMPLY THAT MAIN MEETING HAS COMPETENCE TO DETERMINE MODALITIES OF EXPERTS MEETING ON PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, WHICH SWISS CONSIDER FINAL ACT ASSIGNS SOLELY TO THEM, OR THAT MAIN MEETING MUST ESTABLISH ADDITIONAL EXPERTS GROUPS TO MEET AFTER BELGRADE, A MATTER WHICH WE AND MANY OTHERS BELIEVE SHOULD BE DECIDED ON CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

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FROM USDEL CSCE

13. ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION OF NNA PAPER ASSIGNS TO PLENARY TASK OF DRAFTING FINAL DOCUMENT, PRIMARILY BETWEEN DECEMBER 3 WHEN IT ENVISAGES WORKING GROUPS FINISHING AND DECEMBER 15. IT SUGGESTS, HOWEVER, THAT WORKING GROUPS WILL BE EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO DRAFTING PROCESS SINCE THEY WILL "REPORT" TO PLENARY. THIS IS GENERALLY CONSISTENT WITH PROVISIO IN US-UK ORGANIZATIONAL ANNEX THAT PLENARY WOULD "RECEIVE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE COMMITTEES" AND THAT AGREEMENT ON FINAL DOCUMENT MIGHT TAKE ONE-TWO WEEKS.

14. GENERAL LANGUAGE IN NNA DRAFT THAT FINAL DOCUMENT "WILL INCLUDE CONCLUSIONS AND DECISIONS" RELATING TO OTHER AGENDA ITEMS STRIKES US AS IN LINE WITH WESTERN CONCEPT THAT FINAL DOCUMENT SHOULD GO BEYOND HIGHLY GENERAL FACTUAL STATEMENTS ABOUT MEETING AND ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF IMPLEMENTATION EXPERIENCE AS CONFIDENTIAL

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WELL AS DECISIONS ON NEW PROPOSALS. ITS, HOWEVER, INCONSISTENT WITH LINE WHICH SOVIETS HAVE SELECTIVELY ARGUED THAT MAIN BELGRADE MEETING SHOULD HAVE PURELY CONSULTATIVE CHARACTER.

15. ITEMS 7 AND 8 OF NNA AGENDA, CLOSING STATEMENTS AND FORMAL CLOSE OF MEETING, WOULD BE IN PUBLIC SESSION AS ENVISAGED IN US-UK DRAFT. ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION OF NNA DRAFT PROPOSES TIME LIMIT OF 30 MINUTES PER SPEAKER FOR CLOSING STATEMENTS. THIS WOULD MEAN THAT CLOSING SESSION WOULD REQUIRE 3-4 DAYS, WHICH WOULD COME AFTER FINAL DOCUMENT HAD BEEN AGREED IN CLOSED PLENARY.

16. DATE AND DURATION -- NNA PROPOSE THAT MAIN MEETING BEGIN MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 27 AT 1100. ON ASSUMPTION THAT PREPARATORY MEETING IS OVER BY END OF JULY, THIS WOULD ALLOW TWO MONTHS BETWEEN MEETINGS, A PERIOD WHICH WE BELIEVE SHOULD BE SUFFICIENT FOR ALLIED CONSULTATIONS AND OTHER NECESSARY WORK. NNA BASICALLY ACCEPT TWELVE-WEEK TARGET DATE FORMULATION ON DURATION CONTAINED IN US-UK PAPER BY PROPOSING SEPTEMBER 27 OPENING AND STIPULATING THAT "ALL EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE IN ORDER TO HAVE THE FIANL DOCUMENT AGREED NOT LATER THAN 15 DECEMBER 1977." WITHOUT EXPLICITLY SAYING THAT CONSENSUS WOULD BE REQUIRED

TO END MEETING, NNA FORMULATION THAT "IF BY THAT DATE THE MEETING HAS NOT FULFILLED ITS TASK, IT CONTINUES ON WEEKLY BASIS", HAS THAT EFFECT SINCE IT INDICATES THAT CONTINUATION WOULD BE AUTOMATIC. THERE IS OPTICAL BOW TO SOVIETS IN USE OF DEVICE THAT EXTENSIONS WOULD BE "ON WEEKLY BASIS" RATHER THAN INDEFINITE, BUT, IN MANNER SIMILAR TO THAT OF US-UK PROPOSAL, IT IS CLEAR THAT MEETING WILL GO ON UNTIL ALL AGENDA ITEMS, INCLUDING ADOPTION OF FINAL DOCUMENT, HAVE BEEN COMPLETED. NNA FORMULATION ALSO LEAVES CONFIDENTIAL

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OPEN POSSIBILITY THAT WORKING GROUPS CAN CONTINUE THEIR WORK, IF NEED BE, AFTER TARGET DATE OF DECEMBER 3 FOR COMPLETION OF THEIR WORK HAS PASSED.

17. OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES -- NNA ENVISAGE FIVE WORKING GROUPS -- ONE FOR EACH BASKET, FOR MEDITERRANEAN AND FOR FOLLOW-UP. WE SEE NO SUBSTANTIVE VARIANCE FROM US-UK PROPOSAL THAT THERE BE COMMITTEES FOR EACH BASKET AND FOR MEDITERRANEAN AND AN "AD HOC WORKING GROUP" FOR FOLLOW-UP. MAIN POINT IS THAT NNA ENVISAGE SUFFICIENT NUMBER OF SUB-GROUPS WITH BROAD ENOUGH MANDATE AND SUFFICIENT TIME TO ENSURE DETAILED WORK ON REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION, NEW PROPOSALS AND DRAFTING OF FINAL DOCUMENT. AS IN US-UK PAPER, IT IS ALSO FORESEEN THAT "OTHER WORKING GROUPS MAY BE SET UP TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ACCORDING TO RULES OF PROCEDURE."

18. NNA HAVE DONE JUDICIOUS PRUNING JOB ON ORGANIZATIONAL DETAIL INCLUDED IN ANNEX II OF US-UK PAPER. ESSENTIALLY WHAT HAS BEEN DELETED IS REPETITIOUS MATERIAL FROM BLUE BOOK (RECOMMENDATIONS ADOPTED IN HELSINKI IN 1973 TO GUIDE WORK OF GENEVA PHASE OF CSCE) AND SIMILAR MATTERS WHICH ARE SUBSUMED BY NNA UNDER SIMPLE STATEMENT TAKEN FROM FINAL ACT THAT "THE RULES OF PROCEDURE, THE WORKING METHODS AND THE SCALE OF DISTRIBUTION FOR THE EXPENSES OF THE CONFERENCE WILL, MUTATIS MUTANDIS, BE APPLIED TO THE MEETING". DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT US EXPRESSED PREFERENCE DURING NATO CONSULTATIONS FOR LANGUAGE RESEMBLING NNA FORMULATION.

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19. NNA HAVE REFLECTED WIDESPREAD SKEPTICISM IN MEETING THAT IT IS NEITHER DESIRABLE OR PRACTICAL TO PROVIDE DETAILED TIMETABLE FOR FULL TWELVE WEEKS ENVISAGED FOR CONFERENCE AS ANNEX I OF US-UK PAPER ATTEMPTS TO DO. NNA PROPOSAL IS TO PROVIDE THAT PLENARY SHALL NORMALLY SET WORK PROGRAM FOR PLENARY AND WORKING GROUP SESSIONS EVERY THREE WEEKS. THIS IS SIMILAR TO FUNCTION PERFORMED BY COORDINATING COMMITTEE DURING GENEVA PHASE OF CSCE. IT OFFERS FLEXIBILITY TO SCHEDULE MORE MEETINGS OF ONE WORKING GROUP AND LESS OF ANOTHER AND MORE OR FEWER PLENARY SESSIONS IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONFERENCE DEVELOPMENTS AND AVOIDS POSSIBLE STRAIGHT-JACKET EFFECT THAT SOME DELS SAW IN US-UK PROPOSAL WHEREBY, FOR EXAMPLE, MEETING MIGHT HAVE HAD TO MOVE FROM COMMITTEES TO PLENARY EVEN THOUGH FORMER STILL HAD UNFINISHED BUSINESS. ADDITIONAL PROVISIO THAT "AS A RULE THE PLENARY WILL MEET TWICE A WEEK AFTER THE SECOND WEEK OF THE MEETING", WOULD OFFER SOVIETS A
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PLENARY THAT WOULD CONTINUE FROM BEGINNING TO END OF MEETING, AS THEY HAVE SAID THEY REQUIRE, WHILE MAKING CLEAR THAT DURING MOST OF CLOSED PART OF MEETING WORK IN PLENARY WOULD BE SECONDARY TO DETAILED WORK IN WORKING GROUPS.

20. IN SUMMARY, WE BELIEVE THAT NNA HAVE PRODUCED SKILL-FULLY DRAFTED COMPREHENSIVE PROPOSAL THAT HAS FOLLOWING MAIN VIRTUES: AN AGENDA THAT LISTS REVIEW

OF IMPLEMENTATION AT TOP OF SUBSTANTIVE SECTION, AN ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD PERMIT THOROUGH AND REASONABLY ORDERLY CONSIDERATION BOTH OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS, A THREE-PHASE STRUCTURE INCLUDING PUBLIC OPENING AND CLOSING SESSIONS AND A CLOSED WORKING PERIOD IN MIDDLE THAT IS BASED ON HELSINKI-GENEVA-HELSINKI HMDL, AND A FORMULA ON DURATION THAT WOULD PROVIDE FOR MEETING TO CONTINUE UNTIL IT COMPLETES ITS WORK WITHOUT AN ARBITRARY CUT-OFF. THEIR PROPOSAL CLEARLY COMES DOWN MUCH MORE ON WESTERN THAN EASTERN SIDE. IF WE CAN ACCEPT IT, WE WILL EITHER OBTAIN PROVISIONS THAT MEET AT LEAST OUR MINIMUM REQUIREMENTS ON ALL MAJOR POINTS OR WE WILL ISOLATE SOVIETS IN CONFERENCE AND MAKE CLEAR THAT IT IS THEY WHO ARE BLOCKING CSCE PROGRESS BY REFUSAL TO COMPROMISE MAXIMALIST POSITIONS.

21. THE NNA COMMITTEES HELD MEETINGS IN THE LATE AFTERNOON AND EVENING OF JULY 7, WITH WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES (MINUS ROMANIA), NATO AND EC-9 AND THE OTHERS (PLUS ROMANIA) IN ORDER TO DISCUSS THEIR PAPER. WE AND THE NATO COUNTRIES RAISED MANY POINTS ABOUT PLACES WHERE NNA DRAFT DEPARTED FROM OUR PRESENT POSITIONS. THESE INCLUDED STATEMENT THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE PRESENT FORM OF THE SEPARATION OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS. CONSULTATIONS OF THIS TYPE WILL CONTINUE AS THE NNA COUNTRIES FINE-TUNE
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THEIR PAPER IN RESPONSE TO VARIOUS COMMENTS. THEY ARE HOWEVER REPRESENTING THE PAPER AS AN ORGANIC WHOLE WHICH CANNOT BE SUBSTANTIALLY CHANGED WITHOUT DESTROYING THE OVERALL BALANCE ON WHICH IT DEPENDS.
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Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BELGRA04567
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770242-0238
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770785/aaaacvkd.tel
Line Count: 584
Litigation Code IDs:
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Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 09-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1943792
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: DETAILED ANALYSIS OF NEUTRAL COMPREHENSIVE COMPROMISE PROPOSAL SUMMARY: NEW
\"NON-PAPER\" CIRCULATED INFORMALLY JUL
TAGS: PARM, YO, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/e65a3570-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
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